
T. H. E.

CRISIS.

N U M B E R. XXXVIII. *To be continued Weekly.*

SATURDAY, October 7, 1775. [Price Two Pence Half-penny.]

—Tu ME etiam, Nebulo, ludificabere?

TERENT.

Shall *Dunning* by revolt ensure renown,
And *Bute* not take away his silken Gown?

ANONYM.



I N C E every Truth is now considered, by the King's Friends, as a Libel upon Government, I do not remember ever to have seen a truer, and, consequently, a more atrocious Libel than that which was lately uttered by Mr. Dunning, in his Charge, as Recorder, to the Grand Jury, at the general Gaol Delivery in the City of Bristol on the 4th of September. Before I proceed further, I think it right to apprise my Readers that I intend to display much Star Chamber Learning in this Paper, by Way of preparing them for what they may soon expect; a laudable Exertion of the united Abilities of Administration to construe all Publications founded in Truth into Libels against Government, and to punish them accordingly.

They will want no Juries. They will have a Star Chamber. — The Star Chamber was a motley Kind of Court, like those in Scotland, compounded of Law and Equity, (or, at least, what they called Law and Equity) where a Board of Inquisitors came, predetermined, in the double Capacity of Judge and Jury. —

Now, before such Judges, Libel, or not Libel, is a Question depending upon Construction only. I will shew my Readers, immediately, the Mode of Interpretation in such Cases. For that Purpose I shall exhibit Part of the Recorder of Bristol's Speech by Way of Specimen. — That Gentleman told the Grand Jury,

Jury, that it had always been his Custom (and a laudable one it is) to inform them of any Acts of the previous Session of Parliament, which related to the Civil Liberties of the People, or to the Administration of Justice. But he observed, most truly, and, therefore, most libellously (for Truth, it seems, is the greatest Aggravation of a Libel) that the Proceedings of the late Session furnished no such Information; Business of a very different Nature (meaning the late American Business) having engrossed the Attention of the Legislature.—He then expresses, with the most pathetic Sensibility, his first Wish to be the Union of the British Empire; that it might, once more, be happy and flourishing; and declares the Crime of that Person who indulges a contrary Wish to be infinitely more heinous than any that stained the Calendar then before him.

This Gentleman's Observations are just, and his Assertions true; but for that very Reason a Court of Star Chamber must condemn him.

Truths make the strongest and most lasting Impression upon the People, and are, therefore, held in the greatest Detestation by the present Ministry. To them every Man who thinks is an obnoxious Subject; but the Hand that writes must be disabled. Under the Sway of a Bute and a Mansfield, Information is no less criminal than Resistance. All Freedom of Speech and Pen will shortly be condemned by Proclamation, and suppressed by Inquisition.

The King's Friends (as they call themselves) cannot do their Duty if they omit to censure, relent, and punish the late opprobrious Behaviour of the Recorder of Bristol; a Man whom they hate, with great Reason, for his free Spirit, Abilities, Integrity, Discernment, Inflexibility, and public Virtue; and, therefore, most righteously, displaced him as Solicitor General, to make Way for one who would suit their Purposes. Lord Bute did right—he smelt a Rat.—The Name of Junius made him start.—The Man who dares to publish free and virtuous Sentiments, in Times like these, who is too proud and stubborn to receive either Insults, Bribes, or Orders from the Minister, deserves to wear the King's Gown no longer. Let him be stripped of his silk Robe, and, to his immortal Honour, let him wear Shalloon for Life; but let him not presume to vent his galling Truths in public. Shall he be suffered to spread Jealousies and Discontents among the People, to play the Constitutionalist before a Grand Jury; to scatter malignant Hints and seditious Insinuations throughout a City, and to lead Men (who might otherwise be tame and quiet) into political Inquiries and national Resentments? Can a Mansfield be blind to such Audacity as this? Is the great Inquisitor of the Nation slumbering? Have the mouldy Precedents of his favourite Court of Star Chamber, no Pains, no Penalties, no Maims in Store for such Offences? When the Heads of a virtuous Administration are plotting against the Liberties of the Press, shall Freedom of Speech,

Speech, or Pen, be allowed to any but the pensioned Friends of Government: your Johnstons, Maduirs, Shebbears, and Kellys?

This Recorder is not only a free Speaker, but he is suspected of being a free Writer, and shall he not be punished in those Members which offend? Ought he not to be examined upon Interrogatories? If he should (like Bingley) contumaciously refuse to accuse himself, let such Refusal be taken for full Proof against him, and let his guilty Hand and Tongue pay the Forfeit of his Temerity. This Procedure has been held just and legal in Reigns no less virtuous and constitutional than the present; nor can Lord Bute's System of Government be supported, unless this summary Mode of Trial is restored.

If Americans have no Right to be tried by Juries, no more have the other Subjects of Great Britain. Juries are said to be constitutional, but they are dangerous. They are no Friends to Government. They listen too much to Conscience. They know they have an undoubted Right to judge of *Law* as well as *Fact*, and that every Judge is a *Liar* and a *Knave* who tells them to the contrary, and dares to dictate, controul and overbear, when it is his Province only, to assist and inform. How can Juries swallow the ministerial Doctrine of our Day? Let them be at once abolished.—With the present Administration: whatever is, is *right*. A glorious Maxim!—pregnant with unerring Justice.—The great Sir Thomas Filmer has wrote a Volume in its Praise.

The conscientious, pious, amiable and God-like Family of the Stuarts (to whose Principles our Ministry most religiously adhere) pluming themselves on their manifest Vicegerency under God, did singular Honour to this Maxim, by adopting it as their great Rule of Government. It made that divine Being, Charles the First, a blessed Martyr, and will, probably, beatify and canonize more anointed Fools. Such short-sighted Dupes of wicked and designing Ministers and Friends, have ever found a Way to Heaven through Inquisitions, Massacres, Tyranny, and Blood. Those who are Friends to the People are ever treated as Enemies to such a Government, and have generally been attempted either by private Assassination, or judicial Iniquity. I shall not, therefore despair of seeing this free speaking Recorder brought to the Bar of the Inquisitor General of England.

If Truth makes a Libel more criminal, (as every Star Chamber Lawyer from Coke to Mansfield has declared) can Thurloe want sufficient Matter for an Information against Mr. Dunning? Will not our Solicitor General (our little Scotch Lord Chancellor in Embryo) be ingenious in supplying necessary Inuendoes and bold Averments, which are the Quintessence of such State Proceedings? Can any Atterpersion upon the great Council of the Nation (in whose Wisdom our Sovereign has so repeatedly declared he would confide) be more gross and virulent, and, what is worse, more true, than that which Mr. Dunning has

has thrown out upon it? Has not this Great Council, has not the Privy Council, has not our most pious King, has not the great Lord Bute himself (that infallible Consistory of George's Soul) shewn of late the noblest Instances of Perseverance? Does any human Virtue bid so fair for the Promotion of Civil Liberty and Justice, as tenacious and obdurate Steadiness?—What if no Acts have passed, relating to Liberty and Justice in the late Session of Parliament, has not that Session nobly avowed, supported and persisted in all the salutary Provisions made before for the Advancement, Protection and Prosperity of Religion, Commerce, the Lives, Liberties and Properties, nay, for the Preservation and lasting Happiness (in Heaven) of all his Majesty's dissatisfied petitioning Subjects in America? And shall Government be upbraided, or discouraged, because a little Recorder of a little Corporation dares to arraign the Assiduity, Vigilance, Justice, and Attention of the late Session of our incorrupt Parliament? Does this little Man presume to be wiser than the whole legislative Body?—

What contributes more to the Preservation of Civil Liberty, than to suppress Licentiousness? And what Licentiousness is so great as that of Subjects who shall dare to meet, consult deliberate, and at last, to act in Defence of themselves, and their pretended Interests, against the Proprietors of their Liberties, Lives and Fortunes? Shall a Set of Men, who have thrown themselves under the Protection of the Crown, from whose Grace and Benignity they received a Charter in their Infancy, presume to withstand their Owner's Will? Has not the modest, patriotic Doctor Johnson most learnedly and convincingly amplified, expounded and explained, stipulated Subjection into passive Obedience, rational Subordination into real Slavery? And durst any loyal Subject dispute the Doctrine and Authority of his magesterial Goose-quill?—So much for Civil Liberty.—As to the Administration of Justice, can that be more effectually provided for than by the Prevention of political Injustice? And what can be more unjust than that those whom the Wisdom of the Great Council of this Nation has branded as Rebels should escape Famine, Sword and Gibbet? What could be wiser, and more just than to call in the Aid even of Famine, in such a righteous Cause? What more laudable than the abolishing Trials by Jury in Cases of *meum* and *tuum*, in such a detested Country? What more equitable than the transporting such traitorous Children hither, where they will be sure to find a Judge, a Jury, and a Halter ready for them?—But the most obnoxious and severest Insinuations against the State, are couched under the Recorder's next Observation, that “Business of a very different Nature from the Civil Liberties of the People, or the Administration of Public Justice had engrossed the Attention of the last Session” —

Now what is so contrary to its natural Civil Liberty, as established Slavery, what so foreign to the Administration of Justice,

as the promotion of Corruption, Oppression, and Iniquity? These may be truly said to be Businesses of a very different Nature from those which in all well governed States, engross the perpetual Attention of a good Prince and a wise Legislature. Such a Prince and such a Legislature would endeavour to multiply the Benefits and mitigate the Sufferings of the People. They would have no Relentments to gratify, no Vices to indulge, no Dependants to support, no Confederates to bribe, no private Ends to serve, no Wish but what tends to the Welfare, the Honour, the Happiness and Preservation of the Realm and its Dominions. But, by saying that Business of a different Nature employs the Thoughts of Government, what does this Recorder mean, but that the Administration must be wicked which Promotes, the Legislature corrupt and venal that Assists, the People stupid who endure, and the Sovereign more Fortunate, than he deserves, who does not Suffer for so gross an abuse of delegated Power.

Such Insinuations as these, are fit for the Consideration of a Court of Star Chamber.—But this keen Libeller, this Apostate to a Pious King, this Deserter of a virtuous Administration, this zealous Opponent of an incorrupt Majority, has presumptuously formed a Wish for the Happiness, the Prosperity of America in a lasting Union with Great Britain.

Does he remember that the great Lord Bute has declared by his Amanuensis Doctor Johnson, that whoever wishes well to America, is a Traytor?

Does he not know that our Sovereign has set his Face against America? That our all-wise and almighty Majority are determined to gratify the Rage of disgusted Royalty? That the Extinction of that detested Race of Subjects is determined? Who then shall dare to wish for an happy Union with that devoted Territory, which is doomed to Desolation. Such a Trayterous Wish is equal to a Trayterous Act, and deserves no less a Punishment.

But our wild Recorder stops not here; in a loose of frantic Zeal, he proceeds to rank the Three Great Estates of this Kingdom, with the worst of Felons; asperses and calumniates the whole virtuous Gang, from Bute to Jerry Dyson. He involves them with Pick-Pockets, Cut-throats, and Assassins. Nay, I suspect by his using the Word (Person) in the singular Number, that he points at the Master-Butcher.—This is ungenerous. He, (poor Man) is but a mere Puppet, and is moved upon the Wires of his two Scotch Governors.

Mr. Recorder, to enflame the Minds of the Public, insinuates farther, that “the End of this American Business cannot be clearly seen.”—But here I suspect him of the most artful Dissimulation for some secret and pernicious Purposes; for every Man may see the End of this Business; who knows the Temper and Fortitude of the Americans better than Lord Sandwich, or Lord Denbigh? and reflects that Virtue and Magnimity always go together and are invincible.

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This Recorder then, does not scruple to declare that he intends still to give his Opinion firmly on all Questions relating to America.—Upon this, a late made Baron may remark, that Mr Dunning does not intend to barter his Seat in the House of Commons, for a Fur-gown, or to give up the National Interest, and his own Honour, for a larger Perriwig.—But the higher Monkies climb—the Reader knows the rest.

Let me not forget the grossest of all this Recorder's Insults: it is well known, and felt, that the Government, abetted by the wise Council of this Nation, have thought fit to declare themselves Enemies to America; they have thought fit to withdraw their Protection from Her; and have bravely and justly resolved by all Means, Human, and Inhuman, to exterminate those Rebels; and shall this puny Gownsmen dare to proscribe so illustrious, so august a Body as King, Lords and Commons, and hold up a Calendar of Thieves and Murderers as their Betters? Unparalleled Assurance! audacious Insolence! unpardonable Contempt!—But let this daring little Bully of a King's Bench Bar, mark and tremble at the End of these licentious Outrages against a pious King, an upright Parliament, a righteous and unspotted Administration, and a godlike Thane, the great and first Mover of our political Sphere of Government.

Let every Anti-Revolutionist rejoice that the great and glorious Day of Reformation is at Hand, when the now-teeming Press shall be Free to none but Johnson and his dubaiterns; when literary Publications from every other Quarter, shall be supervised and punished under a new constitutional Inquisition; when the Tongues of perjured Revolutionists shall be rooted out, and the impious Hands that spread their Doctrines, shall be severed; when mere Writing shall (as it was in Sidney's Case) be again pronounced Acting; when Petitioning shall be Death, and lifting up a suppliant Eye towards the Throne, shall be punished as an High Crime and Misdemeanor.—Then shall the glorious Sons of Bute and Mansfield, break forth in Scottish Splendour, and eclipse the puny Majesty of England; then shall rebellious America be abandoned to her Fate; no more protected and sustained by her affectionate and indulging Parent; but spurned, with Indignation and Contempt, as an odious Prodigy of that monstrous and enormous Virtue, which is not to be subdued by Luxury, Corruption, Perfidy, Treachery, Famine, Ministerial Assassination, royal Perseverance, or a Breach of Magna Charta and the great Compact between King and People.

C A S C A.

**** The Authors of the CRISIS present their respectful Compliments to Casca, and beg he will excuse their not having printed some of his Words which were scored for Italic in that Character:—They have a new Font of the various Sorts of Letter nearly finished, when they will be able to comply with the particular Requests of Casca and their numerous Correspondents.—The Authors hope to hear from Casca soon.*